is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 236), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/a/gu hã kxoẽs gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transfered to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gõ/gãs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, ǂnago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in ǂna skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂnamago/mas. The term kxã/go/mas, [229] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxãã) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

This characteristic is also clearly revealed in a kind of love token giving for which there is no designation in German and which is therefore best called by its native name *soregus*. This is introduced by drinking a toast. With the words: "ǔ soreb" or [319] "sore //gams," i.e. "this is sorewater," a drink is handed to the chosen one (male or female) from which the giver has first taken a sip. A boy who entered into a closer relationship to an old Hottentot in this fashion, received a horse and several sheep and goats as presents. He survived his benefactor, but still feels obligated to make a present to the man's children -- twenty years may have passed in the meantime -- even though no one could force him to do this. Women also enter into this kind of relationship with each other. Without asking for a return favor, a woman presented her favorite, a little girl, several goats. Years later she received a sack of coffee in return. Characteristic for the sore relationship is the fact that there is no legal protection as would apply in trading but that it is based on mutual trust. A review of the driving forces behind this giving never gave me reason to assume that avarice was involved. The joy of giving, a characteristic of the people, is in any case one of the main springs of the sore custom. Whether that was the original one or whether sexual attraction has always been involved (see below) I do not dare to decide.

2. Sexual Relations

Sexual relations among the Hottentots are no longer regulated as formerly in the interest of the tribal community by ethical rules. Except for those families that hold faithfully to the teachings of the mission, no one is shocked by even the freest relationships. Formerly ethical strictness was also found among the Hottentots. Eye-witnesses of the times thirty to forty years ago report that a girl who had sinned was whipped by her parents with straps in the presence of the guilty man and that the man was then given the same punishment in the presence of the girl. Another girl got the same treatment while the women who were arranging her found striated marks on her of an old, secret pregnancy. Today the Hottentot mothers think differently. The morals of married people are not any better. The sore relationship mentioned above, although in most cases completely honorable, can also mean a concealed agreement to an intimate relationship outside of wedlock.

Magic sometimes stands in the service of lechery. /na/m/na/m means enchanting to secure someone's love. The mouthpiece of a pipe [320] is secretly smeared with the contents of the medicine box. The man smokes

a little and hands the pipe to the woman whose love he wishes to obtain. 832

In spite of their lack of morals, rape is considered a severe crime. One would scarcely need to mention this if one did not occasionally find 839 an opposite notion among the whites in the country. There was one incorrigible Hottentot who crept into huts at night to rape women that were [684] sleeping alone and he had one testicle cut off (according to the account of an old Hottentot), with the threat of losing the other if he should offend again. The man who performed this half castration died shortly afterwards and the Hottentots of the kraal believed that to be a warning that their methods were not above criticism and they never did it again. Such cases [304] may have perhaps given rise to the idea that one-sided castration is a Hottentot custom.

Abortions are nothing unusual. A hot infusion of the urine of a rock- 847 rabbit (see Analysis in the Appendix), drunk (when necessary) for several consecutive days, is considered an effective method of inducing an abortion. They call the procedure itself "ǂ//nāǂ, i.e. "to drink and to fall."

In order to complete the dreadful picture, the oaths that have a sexual 578 content which one hears frequently should be mentioned. First it should be emphasized that even in cases of the freest sexual traffic (professional prostitution excepted), the feeling of shame has not completely vanished. The deed is free, glances and words wound. Therefore curses which insult the feelings of modesty, such as the frequent "gaixāba u," "you with the big penis" are considered a matter of provocation even by the least prudish person. The ugliness of the image increases further the insult: "!ara χ̃āba ũts," "you, with a penis like the swelling around the genitals of a baboon." (!a·ras is the brilliant reddish, naked, outcropping of skin around the genitals of the female baboon which periodically swells up considerably.

Worst of all are the curses which not only wound one's modesty but also one's sense of piety, since they are aimed at the person and at his mother or his sister. "!haĩǂnũisõats," "you (-ts) son (õab) of the genitals (ǂnũis, vulva), as horrible as the dirty scum on the milk calabash." (!haĩs) The curse aa !gãsa χ̃aẽ "go sleep with your sister," will make even the most phlegmatic Hottentot furious.

[321] The insult "ǂgũits go hã o" "oh, you have become rigid" (/gũi, to have an erection) is intended to make a person look ridiculous.

The conditions in the relations of the sexes document the rapid degeneration of the social life of the Hottentots.

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836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] Should pregnancy 848 follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 71) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 133). [502] [773]
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, viii (1913–6), 109–10.

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practice whereby two individuals, either of the same or of opposite sex, will enter into a specially intimate bond of association, *soregus*, with each other. This is initiated by one of the parties drinking from a bowl of water (or nowadays often coffee), and then handing the rest of the liquid to the other to drink, with the words: *sore-//gamsa ure*, take the *sore* water, or *sore-//gamsa are*, drink the *sore* water. As a rule the relationship thus entered upon primarily implies deep friendship and mutual assistance, especially in economic matters. But, according to Falk, it is also used as a means of establishing a homosexual relationship, especially by boys, who jealously watch over each other. The customary form of homosexual practice is mutual masturbation, among both men and women (*oa /huru* or simply */huru* in the case of men, */goe-ugu* in the case of women); pedication (coitus in anum) between men, and the use of an artificial penis between women, are also found, but more rarely. Falk mentions also three cases known to him of men who were confirmed sexual inverts. Unfortunately he gives no concrete data as to the public attitude either towards such men or towards homosexuality in general, but as far as can be gathered from his short account, homosexual practices are regarded somewhat as a matter of custom. How far this is the correct view cannot be determined, as no other writer gives any positive information on the subject.

Solitary masturbation (*gui-guisen*, to make oneself stiff) is also found; and, according to Fritsch, it is so frequent among girls as almost to deserve the name of a national custom ("Landessitte"). No special secret is made of it, he says, and the people even speak of it in tales and legends as if it were quite an ordinary occurrence.[1] He goes so far as to venture the suggestion, often advanced also by other writers, that the elongation of the labia minora found in many Hottentot women may be due to this practice,[2] but, as we have already seen, there is little doubt that this hypertrophy is a purely physiological condition.

Wandres mentions also that occasional cases of bestiality are found, which, if they come to the notice of the tribal council, result in "exemplary punishment".[3] He does not specify the nature of this punishment, nor does he give any instances known to him of such abnormal practices.

[1] *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 391; cf. Falk, *op. cit.*, 221.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 389.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his g sts. Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. But where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, the custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters into the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. This *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence [578] of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, ● 684 according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without *further question and* without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, *op. cit.*, 212, 214; Olpp, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* Schultze, *op. cit.*, 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 71.

[3] Kohler, *op. cit.*, 354; Kolb, *op. cit.*, 71; Wanderer, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 689; Vedder, "The Nama," 140.

681 cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death
[685] sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties
[682 agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high
687 treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always
684 punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

673 6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not
[835] subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs
[588] the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

421 7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

422 Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

423 The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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[76]) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 360 ff.)

[77]) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 72). [587] [751]

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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks"). 757

PUNISHMENTS OF THEFT.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else. 685

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant. [684] 836

") For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur.

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:—

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain 's *Hummo*, as will be related below.

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It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the *koekque* or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Goringhaikonas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown. 684

PUNISHMENT OF HOMICIDE AND ASSAULT.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some libdoers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end.**) 682

DWELLINGS.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts 342

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was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Schapera, *op cit.*, 389 ff.) 695 696